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From: CAFOD-HQ!SALSTON@cafod.attmail.com (Steve Alston)
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To: cdpm@gn.apc.org (Louisa Periera)

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I would appreciate it if you kept this for your eyes only. However you might find it helpful??

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CONFIDENTIAL EAST TIMOR

Report by Stephen Alston

Visit to Indonesia and East Timor

12th to 29th March 1995

CONTENTS

PART I Visit Report

PART II CAFOD PROGRAMME PLAN

PART III 1994/5 Budget
Proposed Budget 95/97

1. GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION

1.1 During the past six months, since the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) Meeting in Jakarta, the situation in East Timor has been extremely volatile with increased numbers of actions by the urban clandestine movement. This has largely been in the form of demonstrations or mass response to violent or intimidating behaviour by the occupying military forces. In the view of many of those I met this is strong evidence that the Clandestine is not only still strong but able to change and adapt to meet new demands and strategies of the occupying forces.

1.2 Two particular killings have had a strong impact in the past three months; the reported 'massacre' in Baucau, outside the parish Church in January and the killing of six civilians in the town of Liquicia in February. The numbers of those killed in Baucau is unclear and as yet the Justice and Peace Commission of the Diocese has made no investigation. I heard from a number of sources that local Church officials are not happy about reporting this incident for fear of reprisals. In Liquicia the opposite was true, with effective reporting from the local parish bringing the killings to international attention and ensuring that the new

Indonesian National Human Rights Commission undertook an immediate investigation. The report of the Commission, attacking the military account of the incident as 'a military engagement', as fabrication and calling on the military to take action against those military responsible. Although generally little confidence in Indonesian National institutions is expressed by most Timorese there was a positive response to the Commission's report amongst those I spoke with.

1.3 It is likely that more severe penalties will be given to the

officers responsible for the Liquicia killings than those given to the military responsible for the Santa Cruz killings in 1991, to satisfy international opinion. There are strong rumours that the present military commander in East Timor will be removed but some trepidation as to who will replace him.

1.4 The Indonesian policy of 'divide and rule' and application of a form of 'Low Intensity Conflict' is having a substantial impact. The Ninja gangs, groups of Timorese youth paid by the military to undertake terrorising gang raids at night on the houses of identified critics of Indonesian integration, have produced a heightened state of fear. Although during the week I stayed in Dili these attacks were said to be muted there were a number of reports of continued actions by Ninja gangs in towns and villages. Recruits for the Ninja's are said to come from the increased numbers of youth involved in a martial arts youth culture. The development of martial arts clubs in heavily encouraged by the military and many of them take on a fanatical nature, similar to the Alsa Masa 'militia' groups in the Philippines.

1.5 There was great expectation of the UN sponsored intra Timorese talks to be held in Salzberg in April '95 (now postponed to June). I met a number of those from within Timor who had been invited by the UN Secretary General to participate in these talks. The general feeling was that nearly all those invited from both East Timor, Indonesia and the Timorese Diaspora were now opposed, in some form, to Integration. Even the Governor, Abilio Osario, was known to have made statements critical of the status quo calling for some 'new' form of Autonomy for East Timor. Those formerly supportive of integration now increasingly recognise the situation for what it is, 'military occupation'. The present absence of the Governor on a 'so called' 6 month training course in Jakarta is seen a significant attempt to keep him out of East Timor during a time of quite intense political development.

1.6 On Friday 24th military were more strongly in evidence on the streets of Dili and it transpired that a meeting of 'delegates' from each of the regencies of the territory had been gathered to openly denounce the selection of invitees to the UN sponsored talks as unrepresentative of 'true' Timorese opinion. Although the Indonesians are clearly worried that even former collaborators are now growing more sceptical of the Indonesian policy of Integration most of those I spoke with thought it unlikely that the Indonesians would abandon these talks but would try to neutralise them by pressurising the UN to invite more pro-integrationists. A likely Indonesian strategy would be to

offer financial inducements to Timorese prepared to remain 'loyal' to Indonesian Integration and similarly use physical threats against those who are showing a more independent line.

2. CHURCH

2.1 A considerable degree of unease was expressed by the Timorese clergy I met at recent developments within the Church in East Timor. The Bishop has made three appointments to significant offices of the diocese which many feel strengthens the hand of the 'pro-Indonesian' group of clergy. Fr Domingos Sequeira is the new Chancellor, replacing the present Vicar General Fr Jose Antonio who still holds the office of VC but has been moved from the Curial offices to be parish priest of the Cathedral. Fr Domingos Sequeira, also manager of the Radio Station, is seen as closely allied to the Indonesian military intelligence and is widely mistrusted. It was pointed out to me that when the Liquicia massacres happened Domingos Sequeira was muted in his response and was clearly uncomfortable at the Church being the main vehicle for communicating the facts about the incident. After accusations of impropriety against Fr Leao he has been removed from the DELSOS office though he still remains the accountant for the Diocese, and he has been replaced by a noted pro Indonesian India missionary, Fr Montiero.

2.2 Last year the Bishop announced the setting up of a Justice and Peace Commission. He appointed equal numbers of Timorese and Indonesian members and appointed a Timorese priest, Fr Mateus, as its Secretary. He is widely believed to have pro Indonesian sympathies and is the brother of the Indonesian floating diplomat 'for' East Timor, Lopes de Crus. The overwhelming opinion of those I met was that the J&P Commission was ineffective and did not have the confidence of the people. When the world's media focused on East Timor during the APEC meeting in Nov '94 the Bishop made hurried attempts at setting up a visible office for the Commission in the Camera Eclesiastica but this seemed to be more 'window dressing' for the media and not a serious attempt at setting the Commission up with an effective secretariat. Much of the work done around the Liquica killings was done by the parish priest and the DELSOS office.

2.3 There are various scenarios for these moves by Bishop Belo. One is that he fumbles along and constantly makes compromises, caving into to those who exert pressure on him (Fr Domingos Sequeira, Fr Markus Wanandi S.J. and the Papal Nuncio in Jakarta). The other is that he is involved in a careful 'game' to maximise his, and the Churches, influence by appointing Indonesian or pro-Indonesian clergy whilst giving them no real authority. A strong rumour in Jakarta was that the Nuncio, under heavy pressure from Fr Wanadi (An Indonesian Jesuit widely believed to have been placed in Dili at the insistence of his brother, an Indonesian Military Advisor), was going to recommend that Bishop Belo be withdrawn from East Timor. He was only allowed to remain after agreeing to the above mentioned appointments. The fact that so many rumours and misunderstandings prevail is evidence that the Bishop takes few, if any, local clergy into his confidence. Although most of the Clergy still support Belo they nevertheless live in uncertainty about his strategy.

2.4 During the last year three more priests from Flores (the neighbouring largely Christian Indonesian Island) have been accepted as 'missionaries'. Each has been assigned to a parish at present administered by a Timorese priest. Diocesan seminarians in West Timor and Kupang and also known to be under constant pressure to disassociate themselves from anti-Indonesian sympathies. More recently Fr Domingos Sequeira has been appointed as the 'Visitor' to the seminaries to make recommendations to the Bishop on which students should proceed to ordination. This is also seen as a strategy ensure only pro-Indonesian Timorese priests are ordained.

3. SUAI

3.1. I travelled from Kupang to Suai in one day without any problem. Due to communication difficulties I was not expected and Mr Angelino de Rego was away in Dili. I stayed with Fr Hilario. In the week proceeding my visit the town had been plagued by ninja gangs attacks although it was difficult to understand clearly whether there had been any fatalities in the area. Since the retirement last year of the town Mayor, a Timorese with the confidence of the local population, and replaced by a Javanese military officer, relations between the local Government and Church had taken a down turn. Hilario complained that three times ninja gangs had trespassed on to the Parish church compound but when the police had been summoned to give assistance they had not responded. This is the Church's clear evidence that the police and military are behind the ninja gang activities. Unlike Dili, no members of the ninja gangs in Suai have yet been caught and shown to be in the pay of the Indonesian authorities.

3.2 SADEP, the CAFOD funded agricultural programme is still concentrated in the two villages of Zumalai and Beko. Until now only two project sites have been approved by the Military and SADEP is still largely viewed with suspicion however the local village officials, who also benefit from the programme, are very enthusiastic. I was not able to visit the project site but discussed the coming visit of King Oey (CAFOD Consultant) with Fr Hilario. King will undertake a Participatory Rapid Appraisal training (attended by DELSOS staff members) and based on the results of the PRA a new proposal will be prepared for CAFOD. I have stressed with Fr Hilario the need for increased counterpart from the local beneficiaries and whether new project sites could be identified. These matters will be discussed by King during his visit 20th - 25th April. Angelino de Rego has had to return to his permanent post in the local Department of Agriculture and it is unclear what effect this will have on the programme. There are clearly tensions between Fr Hilario and Angelino but I was not able to get a good understanding of these.

3.3 With an introduction from CAFOD and in line with an earlier request from Bishop Belo to assist Timorese priests to take much needed sabbaticals, Fr Hilario has made contact with a Canadian parish in Ontario. They have invited him to come and spend six months with them a period of which is to be spent learning English in a local Language School. The Canadian parish have undertaken to finance this and it is expected that Hilario will get a visa to travel there in June/July. He would like to have a

stopover in London which would allow us some opportunity to have further talks with him. The downside to this is that his assistant priest, from Flores, will be in charge in his absence and this is not widely welcomed by the parish 'elders'.

3.4 The email point in Suai is not effective. Angelino participated in a CAFOD funded training in Jakarta on his return from his visit to the Philippines in Autumn '94. He managed to get the computer, printer and modem back to Suai but the telephone lines have proved too poor to carry modem traffic. He has, however, been able to use the modem for sending FAXES. There are local plans to improve the telecoms infrastructure along side the development of the local oil industry but it is not clear when this will be. Meanwhile communications with Suai remain problematic.

4. DELSOS

4.1 The Diocesan development office is increasingly becoming an effective and recognised agency for development within the country. It has eight staff and is at present considering taking on two more staff, one to give particular assistance on legal matters. With the change of Director a number of the staff feel very insecure and fear something of a 'witch hunt' by the new Director, Fr Montiero. He has already made it known, with some prompting from Fr Sequeira, that the email point should not be used until DELSOS have received Telecoms approval. There are also fears that he may ask those staff to leave who have shown sympathy with the Clandestine. However Bishop Belo assured me that the appointment was for only one year and Sister Barbara, the present Office Manager, would now work full time and be the effective Director. However Sr Barbara herself expressed some reservation about this. A Timorese priest would be appointed to take over next March '96 and in the meantime would undertake the training in Philippines funded by CAFOD. In discussion with the Bishop it was not decided whether this would be a course at the Asian Institute of Management or the Asian Social Pastoral Institute.

4.2 DELSOS is administering and monitoring grants from Caritas Japan, Misereor, CCFD, Australian Overseas Development Assistance and CAFOD. As far as I can see at present there are no APHD supported programmes but LPPS (Caritas Indonesia) still continues to provide training. One training schedule I examined for a July course in Jakarta seemed very comprehensive and DELSOS is likely send at least one staff member. Since the LPPS office in Dili closed just before Christmas '94 DELSOS has added 'Caritas Dili' to its name. At present we are supporting the full staff employment costs and each project is charged an administration fee. The funds raised from this fee are used to support small projects financed 'internally' without recourse to funding agencies.

4.3 DELSOS put a substantial proposal to CAFOD last September based on extending socio economic support to at least 6 parishes. Most of these proposals were based on the development or rehabilitation of agricultural land and involving substantial projected increases in income for both the participating farmers and the parish. Two of these project, in the parishes of

Manatuto and Letifoho, we have pursued in more detail and the Irish agency, The Refugee Trust, has shown interest in supporting them. However in discussions during my last visit it was clear that both these two proposals and those proposed last September are conceived and implemented by the parish clergy with 'secondary' parishioners participation. They are primarily 'Church Projects' with the parish priest as the proponent. When the PRA training in Suai is completed it is intended to take the two projects in Letifoho and Manatuto as the next sites for a PRA. It is intended that this will bring the identified beneficiaries into the planning process and based on the results of these appraisals updated proposals will be presented to the Refugee Trust.

4.4 The CAFOD organised training in Mindanao in October/November '94 was judged a considerable success. One criticism of it was that too much was crammed into a short time. The areas seen as most applicable were the PRA techniques and the Basic Eclesial Community Organising. However in discussions with Sr Barbara (and given the new Director) it is not clear how DELSOS want to follow up this programme in 1995/6. It may well be more cost effective to invite specific trainers from the Philippines and to follow these up with shorter and more focused 'exposure' programmes. A specific training plan will be presented to CAFOD by the end of MAY.

5. RADIO KMANEK

5.1 The Radio station is now broadcasting for 5 hours a day and it is intended to extend the hours to 12 hours by October '95. The area covered by the radio signal is still largely restricted to the City of Dili but a recent increase in the power of the transmitter with a simple cable improvement has increased the quality of the broadcast. A small income from radio music requests has already been established and the evening recitation of the Rosary is widely heard in Dili market. The manager sees this as an important attraction to the listeners and the radio time either side of the Rosary is used for important information broadcasts. Various local professionals have offered their assistance in producing programmes but the Manager complains about their lack of skill and discipline among the young staff.

5.2 Most of the Timorese I spoke with, even those outside the Radio catchment area, saw the radio as an important development tool for the Diocese. However there was real concern over the Management of Fr Sequeira and fears that he would use the Radio Station as a 'propaganda tool' for pro-Indonesian objectives. A number of members of the staff are non-Timorese and Fr Sequeira is proposing that an Indonesian sister be made his deputy manager. He complained at the lack of skill among the young Timorese. As Chancellor he is expecting to have less time to spend at the Radio Station. I did take up this matter with Armindo Maia, the Vice Rector of Dili University, who thought that there were plenty of graduate Timorese who could acquire the necessary skills with minimal training. It is likely that Fr Sequeira is choosing not to employ Timorese in key posts to avoid contact with the 'Clandestine'.

5.3 CAFOD suggested last year that the Radio Station undertake a

consultancy with Radio Veritas in Manila to develop a three year development plan leading to self sufficiency. Fr Sequeira has delayed implementing this consultancy preferring to develop close links with a Catholic Radio station in Jakarta. Having consulted other diocesan officers I sensed that a strong link with Radio Veritas was preferred. This could assist the diocese establish a radio station with its own identity and create early links with international radio networks. Fr Sequeira finally agreed with this but it is likely that he will continue to develop links with the Indonesian Radio station. He has undertaken to contact Erlinda So of Radio Veritas by May or June this year.

5.4 No board of management for the Station has yet been established and I sensed that people believe Fr Sequeira is resisting appointing a Board so as not to undermine the control he exercises at present. However if the Station is to avoid becoming a personal fiefdom it is important that a Board be appointed at the earliest opportunity and this will be one of the matters to be discussed and agreed during the Veritas Radio Consultancy.

PART II

6. CAFOD PROGRAMME PLAN

6.1 CAFOD's basic aim in establishing a relationship with the Diocese of East Timor was to assist the people of East Timor break their practical isolation brought about by of 17 years of military occupation and to establish partners to guide and inspire the international advocacy which CAFOD had been supporting for some years. We have tried to do this by assisting a small number of development projects and facilitating links with other Asian development groups.

6.2 DEVELOPMENT PRROJECTS

To meet the above aim CAFOD should continue with three principle initiatives:

- an extended partnership with DELSOS
- further 2 years support for Radio Kmanek
- 3 year cycle of support for SADEP

6.2.1 DELSOS. Despite the leadership changes CAFOD should continue to support the Diocesan Development Office of DELSOS giving particular emphasis to training and capacity building. It is clear that good training opportunities and excellent NGO's exist in Indonesia and contact with them should be encouraged. However it is equally important to continue to foster relationships beyond Indonesia and a strategic partnership with CAFOD partners in the Philippines proved useful in 1994 and should continue to be encouraged. CAFOD should undertake to support DELSOS for an extended period of time (three 3 year cycles) at approximately the level of funding approved for 1995 (#30,000). This would give the agency the security to develop a strong staff team and make an effective contribution to community development initiatives in all 26 parishes of the diocese. Further training focusing on Basic Eclesial Communities should be explored in 1995 and credit unions and cooperatives in 1996.

6.2.2 RADIO KMANEK. The station needs a period of stable operation and financial security to develop it audience loyalty and to enhance its staff skills. Recognising that developing a commercial income from a small audience will be a difficult task CAFOD should continue, for a further two years (end 97) to give core support for the Radio Station and staff training costs for a further two years and to pay for the consultancy of Radio Veritas. We should investigate with the consultant the possibility of a staff secondment to the Diocesan Radio station of Kidapawan (Mindanao) a successful example of a diocesan radio station supporting, with educational programming, Basic Ecclesial Community organising and general development initiatives. Our Canadian partners, CCODP, have shown an interest in co-funding this programme with CAFOD.

6.2.3 SADEP The Suai Agricultural Development Project has proved very effective in bringing peasants farmers back to fallow land, however it has failed to develop a sense of community ownership and the Revolving Loan Fund (RLF) has largely failed. The process of the PRA should encourage greater community participation and give a clearer picture of how SADEP should develop in the future. In keeping with the socio-economic nature of the programme a greater accent should be laid on self-sufficiency and the analysis of the failure of the earlier RLF should be applied in developing a new methodology. CAFOD could assist in this process by providing material of RLF's and supporting a new application for a RLF if it meets the criteria established through CAFOD's own RLF workshops. A scholarship for agricultural training should continue to be a key element of our programme support for SADEP.

6.2.4 ADDITIONAL PARTNERS. CAFOD has established partnerships beyond the three initiatives supported above, particularly with the parishes of Ockussi, Manatuto and Letifoho. In each parish various socio-economic programmes based on increased income generation from agricultural production, have been proposed. CAFOD should respond positively to these requests based on PRA studies facilitated by the newly trained staff of DELSOS. THE PRA process should encourage more community 'ownership' of these development initiatives and help generate a more confident lay leadership. The Refugee Trust and CCODP could be approached to assist or entirely fund these programmes whilst CAFOD would remain, if desired, the function of 'lead agency'.

6.2.5 SOCIO-ECONOMIC FUND. DELSOS needs a pool of finances to help resource development initiatives in each parish. An increased number of funding agencies are supporting development projects but it remains important not to create a dependency on foreign funds. An effective RLF held and administered by DELSOS to support Socio Economic projects would both provide DELSOS with a resource to assist income generating projects and, if established effectively, provide the potential for future self reliance. CAFOD should assist DELSOS in developing an effective RLF methodology and then assist DELSOS in finding resources from interested agencies to support this fund. A specific training or consultancy to assist in establishing this RLF should be considered.

6.2.6 COMMUNICATIONS. Within East Timor communication remains a

vital need. CAFOD should continued to encourage the development and use of electronic mail giving East Timorese better access to the international community. Recognising the constraints the new leader of DELSOS might place on the use of email and the difficulties in making the email point in Suai effective CAFOD should consider helping a further parish come 'on line'. The Seminary of Dare will soon have a telephone line installed and Fr Martins has requested that he also be provided with the facilities of email. Small resources to provide additional Hardware and to continue to cover the international communication costs will need to be met by CAFOD. In the long term self sufficiency in email communication should be able to be achieved when an internet link can be safely established locally.

6.2.7 TIMORESE DIASPORA. Generally CAFOD has not extended any significant assistance to East Timorese Refugees. To do this in a substantial or direct way could create problems for our partners within East Timor. Recognising the problems faced by youth who have to flee the persecution in East Timor CAFOD should continue to be open to support the Timor Relief Fund where it tries to give support to small income generating projects of Timorese youth in Indonesia, and to support the families of prisoners or former political prisoners.

6.3 ADVOCACY

International Advocacy remains the signal most important way of facilitating just and democratic change within East Timor and opening up the true development potential of the Timorese people. In the recent past the educational and lobby activities in the US have produced a much more informed opinion and significant political developments in US Foreign Policy have brought about pressure on Indonesia. The East Timor Conference in Manila marked a significant step in establishing the illegal occupation of the territory as an important Asian issue. Recognising the significant progress in UN sponsored negotiations, CAFOD should continue to compliment its development support within East Timor by:

6.3.1 Continuing assistance to the East Timor Research Project and to CIIR Timor Link

6.3.2 Keeping a small fund to assist networking among the Timorese internationally, particularly facilitating participation in international fora e.g. UN Human Rights Commission, De-colonisation Committee.

6.3.3 Assisting strategic UK church people to visit East Timor

6.3.4 Continuing to develop solidarity links between Asian countries and East Timor, this could include a follow up visit to East Timor by a second Philippines Bishop in 1995 and support for the next Asia Pacific Conference on East Timor to be held in South Korea in '96.

6.3.5 In close cooperation with CIIR, continuing to inform the media and provide channels of communication

with Timorese 'partners'. Encouraging concerted support for media visits among interested sister funding agencies (Christian Aid, CCODP and Trocaire)

6.3.6 Recognising the developing interest among the UK Unions, and the importance of getting a clear and favourable policy statement from the UK Labour Party, examine the possibility of and support for a UNION visit in 1996.

6.3.7 Continuing to be ready to participate in funding Educational, publications and or film initiatives, which will advance international understanding of the East Timor issue (CIIR Timor Link and Bishop Belo Film)

6.3.8 Acknowledging the vital part played by Bishop Belo in the intra Timorese talks under UN auspices, support initiatives to assist the Bishop in making a thoughtful and constructive contribution to these 'talks' ie. Norwegian initiative (CIIR).

6.4 CAFOD should facilitate the participation of DELSOS in strategic international Catholic Development networks and should investigate a form of participation in Caritas Internationalis and APHD and should further investigate a common meeting among interested donor agencies to share information and increase cooperation (possibly a CIDSE Working Group?).

6.5 Continuing to find and facilitate contact between Timorese partners and international Funding Agencies

PART III

7.1 APPROVED BUDGET 1994/5

7.2 PROPOSED ANNUAL BUDGET 1995 - '97

DEVELOPMENT

DELSOS	30,000
SADEP	25,000
RADIO STATION	17,000
DELSOS Socio Economic Fund	15,000
COMMUNICATIONS & Small supporting grants	10,000

ADVOCACY

ETRP	16,000
South/South Networking,	10,000
UK initiatives	7,000
TOTAL	L130,000

Message 56
From jknet@pactok.peg.apc.org Wed Apr 26 18:20:53 1995